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DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

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Communications for the AMERICAN SOCIALIST are invited from all friends of its purposes. Its editors, however, must be the judges of the fitness of articles sent; and they can not undertake to return manuscripts that do not suit them, unless the writers expressly request it and inclose postage money when the manuscripts are sent.

All correspondence should be addressed to

"The American Socialist, Oneida, N. Y."

ROBERT OWEN.

THE author of the "History of American Socialisms," while faithfully criticising Owen's quarrel with the Bible and other weak points, gives him credit for the highest order of genius, and calls him "The Father of Socialism in America." But even this high praise hardly does him justice. His philanthropic schemes were not limited even to the two countries which he made his home. He knew no national boundaries. His life has been called a failure; it should rather be called a grand success. His failures were specific; his success was general. He failed to establish individual Communities; he succeeded in fertilizing nations with ideas that have ameliorated the conditions of millions. The world honors him as the founder of the infant-school system; honors him for his efforts in introducing into England the ten-hour rule of labor; honors him as the father of coöperation; honors him for his grand achievements at New Lanark. In one of his "manifestoes," sent us recently by a friend, he set forth some of his claims to recognition as a world-benefactor, thus:

"1. He, by his example, writing, speaking, and applications to the legislature, obtained some improvement and amelioration in the condition of the infants employed in the money-making, health-and-happiness-destroying factories of our country.

"2. He advised, introduced, and founded 'infant-schools,' in which to place very young children, to give them improved dispositions, habits, and manners, a spirit of universal charity, and real knowledge through the eye, with rational explanations, by friendly conversations with kind, intelligent instructors, who had previously been taught to understand the true science of human nature.

"3. In 1816 he gave to Mr. Falck, the Dutch ambassador, a plan for the relief of the poor through their own well-directed industry, which plan Mr. Falck approved, transmitted to his government, and the next year it was carried into execution throughout Holland, under the name of the Dutch Poor Colonies, by means of the Benevolent Society. The author of it had previously offered his plan for the relief of the poor to Lord Liverpool's government, and his cabinet would have adopted it, had the church not then been too powerful for the secular portion of the administration. Had the plan been adopted to the extent which the author of it recommended to our government, the poor and working classes would have been well educated and employed from that period to the present. More than one hundred millions sterling of unnecessary expenditure upon those now unwisely made poor would have been saved, and many hundred

millions more of national wealth would have been created, by their never-ceasing, well-directed industry.

"4. In the same year, 1816, he transmitted, through the Prussian ambassador, Baron Jacobi, a plan for a national system of education, and also an exposition of sound principles of general government; to which he had an immediate autograph reply, through the same ambassador, from his Majesty the King of Prussia, thanking him for the work, which his Majesty so highly approved that he had given instructions to his Minister of the Interior to carry both into execution, to the full extent that Prussian localities would admit. And the next year the national system of education in Prussia was introduced.

"5. He took an active part in aiding Joseph Lancaster and Dr. Bell to establish their respective mechanical plans of education. He gave to the first, at various times, more than £1,000, and to Dr. Bell's national committee £500, with the offer of £500 more, on condition that the national schools should be opened to the children of all denominations. This offer was debated two days in full committee, but it was ultimately declined by a small minority.

"6. In 1822 and 1823 he agitated Ireland on the subject of education and employment for the poor; and was well received by the Protestant and Catholic bishops, by many of the highest of its aristocracy, and by the most liberal minds among its population of all degrees. He had some of the most numerous and respectable meetings ever held in the Rotunda in Dublin; and carried petitions from them to both houses of Parliament, to take his views into their most grave consideration; and large sums, although not sufficient for the purpose, were freely subscribed and offered, to assist to carry his views into practice.

"7. In 1824 he went to the United States; visited all the Presidents, except Washington; heard the experienced thoughts and conclusions, upon the most important public subjects, of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, with whom he was closeted for some days; Madison, with whom he made two visits of four days each; while with Mr. Monroe, the President of that period, and his cabinet, he was in daily most friendly communication, as well as in frequent communication with his immediate successor, Mr. John Quincy Adams, and his cabinet, and with the Judges of the Supreme Court, both Presidents and the Judges attending two lectures which he delivered from the speaker's chair, in the Hall of Congress; while, the day after the last lecture, he was formally waited upon in a body by all the Judges, the Chief Justice Marshall at their head, purposely to thank him for the two lectures, which they highly approved. He afterward publicly explained his views in the principal cities of the United States, and visited the United States twice afterward before 1828, and was in constant communication with the leading men of the republic.

"8. In 1828 he went to Mexico, to ask from its general government the government of Texas, with a view to prevent the disasters which have subsequently occurred in that district. He memorialized the Mexican government on the subject, and submitted this memorial to the British government and United States ambassador—was encouraged to proceed, and urged by the North and some of the South American ministers, particularly the Mexican and Columbian, to follow the memorial previously forwarded to the Mexican authorities. He accordingly went, with strong letters of recommendation from his Grace the Duke of Wellington's cabinet, to the British ambassadors in Mexico and Washington, directing them to give him every aid and assistance in their power to obtain the government he was going to solicit. He was well received by the British ambassador in Mexico, who, the first day of his arrival, made an appointment with the President for a meeting the next day. The British ambassador, Mr. Pakenham, nephew to his Grace the Duke of Wellington, conducted the conference on the part of Owen; and he, the ambassador, opened the business in a speech of an hour and a quarter, by saying all manner of things, as he had been instructed by his court, in praise of Owen's character, conduct through life, and complete fitness for the important charge in contemplation. The President replied that the government had taken the subject into its most grave consideration, having received Owen's memorial a month previous. He regretted that the government of Texas was not at the disposal of the general government of Mexico, because the appointment was in the State itself, therefore could not be obtained. But he added, If Mr. Owen will accept the government of a much more important

territory, which is under the control and at the disposal of the general government, we have come to the unanimous decision to offer it to him for the great and good purposes stated in the memorial which he sent to us. It is a district extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, and of considerable breadth along the whole line which divides the United States of North America from the States of the confederacy of Mexico—and the government of this extensive district, fourteen or fifteen hundred miles long, we now freely offer him. Mr. Pakenham, as well as Mr. Owen, was taken by surprise at this most liberal proceeding. When fully explained by Mr. Pakenham to Mr. Owen, he requested him to thank the government and the President for this most liberal offer; but stated there was one objection to his acceptance of it, which was, that the religion of all Mexico was Roman Catholic to the exclusion of all others, and that Mr. Owen required, for his great object, the power to give equal religious liberty and rights to all. The President Victoria immediately said, we have as a government taken that subject into full consideration; we thought it might be an objection; we intend at the Congress now near at hand, to propose, as a government measure, that religion shall be made as free in the Mexican States as it is now in the North American States. Then said Mr. Owen, when that law shall be passed I will undertake the government."

[This enterprise was abandoned because the Mexican government could not carry the religious question.]

9. Having discovered that an extreme antipathy of feeling existed between the governments of the United States and Great Britain, Mr. Owen volunteered as a pacificator, in which mission he was eminently successful.

This "manifesto" was published in 1840, and by no means includes all that might now be said to his credit; but it is sufficiently complete to prove him, with all his failures and impracticable schemes, a great and noble-hearted man. Perhaps his greatest work was that of inoculating others with his own undying enthusiasm. We recall no Socialistic teacher so successful in this respect. We have made the acquaintance of many of his disciples who were filled to the brim with zeal for the cause to which with their master they dedicated themselves in early manhood, half a century ago—intelligent, genial, kind-hearted, brotherly—rich in earnest sympathy for every thing that promises to hasten the glorious day of Socialism. Let the present generation of Socialists remember with gratitude the work of Owen and his associates while they avoid their errors.

HISTORY OF GERMAN SOCIALISM.

II.

THE German love of music is one of the greatest prompters of the Socialist organizations inaugurated by Lassalle, while it proves of less service in the coöperative organization of Schulze. In this, it sees a true campaign function. Coöperation is too suggestive of selfish interests through combination. Music never flows sweetly through brisk air, and the soul must be free from greediness to respond to it. Lassalle and his followers saw that sweet music and pure things of all kinds of the ethical nature, attracted the working people by their touching inspiration, and they often interlude their meetings with speeches, rather than their speech-making with music. I have many times been thrilled with this simple campaign music improvised and served from week to week by these harmony-loving, musical people, especially in Vienna. Another great method of attraction is the gymnasium. One which I was invited to visit at Vienna surprised me by the elaborateness of its arrangements. They willingly submit to paying a moderate tax if they have employment, and these dribbets, flowing into a common fund, are used with much economy. The calisthenic exercises are conducted by a master, as are also the musical and educational. The success, therefore, of the German movement is due to the now established fact that a large attendance at all meetings is possible. They cost nothing. In America they are too costly. Once these cheap meetings made possible, the constituency become, as it were, a family with an idea of mutual protection and a common object in view.

The Germans see a charm which is irresistible in

their *object in view*. This object is the political one. They have been extremely cautious throughout all Germany against openly promulgating their political hankerings. "Organize first," is the watchword. When I first saw these people in 1868 at Berlin, Leipzig, Dusseldorf, and other parts of North Germany, they were feeling their way carefully; although they had, to the intense disgust of what in Europe is known as the *Bourgeoisie*, elected a few members to the *Haus der Abgeordneten* (German Parliament). During my next residence among them, when I had the instructive treat of seeing their method of voting, they could count seven pledged members. From 1874 up to last summer before election they held fourteen or thereabout. But all Germany reeled when after the excitement of the last great *Volks Stimmung* it was announced that the haughty German Parliament numbered about thirty Socialists. It now begins to be predicted that two years more will bring a majority, which will make up a Parliament committed, sworn to and imbued with the most radical Social formulas and deliberately schooled opinions, far exceeding in the launch of inculcation anything yet realized in the American Republic.

In 1875 one of the influential Socialists of Leipzig ventured to announce that in ten years Leipzig would be a great center of Socialism having a majority of all the clues of authority. Last year after the elections, the world ceased to laugh at him; and Leipzig, surprised at her own growth, now predicts that this revolution will take place even sooner. The revolution referred to may be said to consist in the conversion of the functions of political government into a *familism* or "studied good of masses" composing the national family; thus subduing the present function of government which interests itself almost exclusively with individuals.

I have already stated that, besides the method of pure organization in which music and self-culture were used ostensibly as principles rather than as auxiliaries among the Lassallian Socialists of Germany, speech-making and lectures were also indulged in on the platform. These addresses often referred to the failure of the Socialistic efforts in France. The same practice still continues, though the effect of the recent political victories creates a little enthusiasm that crops out more frequently than heretofore in speech and song. Probably the best reason for their astonishing success lies in their uniform spirit of conformity. The master gave the rules, published them, stated boldly the plan of political economy to be pursued, carried his scheme for several years over the heads of all existing labor organizations, with such a conciliatory yet unwavering force as to capture them all and amalgamate them into his own, went to prison for his devotion, escaped, fought a duel and was killed—the whole with his masterly dignity, his wealth, his wonderful oratory, the storm of political vengeance against him, the quaking of Bismarck at the rolling tide of his organization, so charmed the working people of both sexes and all trades that there seemed for a time to exist a tendency to apotheosize this man as a great Social deliverer. Ferdinand Lassalle was killed in a duel in Switzerland the year before my first voyage to Europe. So I have to regret never having seen him. There are some suspicions that he was decoyed into this foolish affray by emissaries of Bismarck, though it appears to have been a love affair of the oft-repeated kind.

Now what was the nature of this plan of political economy which was to be pursued? It is well known that Lassalle went to Paris some years before he began his political career. He had also, if I remember rightly, studied the theories of Robert Owen in England. He was a close student and possessed the power of discriminating between the plans of Saint Simon, Fourier and Owen. Which he chose I shall let the world judge by simply stating that the great German Social movement is based upon the doctrine of Saint Simon as a nucleus, but much amended by casting out that philosopher's religious ratiocinations, which in a curious way adhere to his elaborate system of criticisms. Lassalle's mind seems to have been equal to his task in resuscitating and reconstructing Saint Simon's idea of true Social democracy, in which the people are, by the force of their own government, made to equilibrate individual instincts so as to create and dispense their own means of support and happiness. Interest is not rejected as the initial source of wise fellowship. Love and mutual care of one another is the wisest method to arrive at the realization of either individual or collective interest. The use of weapons for mutual destruction though not openly condemned, is discouraged. The question regarding the relation between the sexes receives a large discussion. In fact the charge is hurled against the Socialists that they are plotting the extermination of

the Marriage ordinance; Government is to provide and endow schools for all, and the *Schul-Zwang* (compulsory education) is to receive a new impulse; Government is to provide labor for all, and industries of every character are to be conducted by the people as a collective whole, thus doing away with middlemen and adventurers, as well as all haughty princes of industrial management. The life of the individual is to be taken into the hands of society. Labor-saving machinery is to be applied to all kinds of necessary productive and distributive industry where practicable. The Government is to discontinue the system of militarism, and to turn its scientific devices and numerical strength, or their equivalents, towards every species of agriculture, manufacture, intellectual development and equitable distribution.

These propositions seem less absurd every year as the organization advances; and at this moment are creating a great scare among crowned heads and their auxiliaries. In Austria, at the time I was there, they were inculcating among the children these principles, to fit them for hereafter assuming control, as a collective individual, of the railroads, canals and other highways and public institutions, which it seems are to revert to the Austrian crown at the expiration of their several leases of a hundred years each. These institutions are now in the hands of middlemen who are realizing enormous profits. The patient Socialists are teaching the coming generations how to manage them in common when the now living are no more. This was the most touching spectacle I encountered.

The *Allgemeine-Deutsche-Bildungs-Verein* of Lassalle has had a wonderful career throughout the German speaking part of the Continent of Europe. It has by degrees—as it has captured and refined the several other movements, like the great *Deutsche-Arbeiter-Verein* and the *Mitwerks-Genossenschaft* of Schulze-Von Delitsch—assumed the general name of *Social-Demokratischer Verein*. It possesses the sympathy and support of many of the professors and other men of culture and influence. There exists also an active sympathy between them and the Russian Socialists, though the one springs out of certain crystals of truth in a European philosophy, and the other from an immemorial custom of Asiatics. The tendency of the two, however, to merge into a kindred family of Communism seems quite natural because the leading principles are one and the same.

C. OSBORNE WARD.

ICARIA.

BY A. SAUVA, PRESIDENT.

I.

SOLICITED by most of our correspondents to give them a sketch of Icaria, we will undertake this task as briefly and accurately as possible. It will be a pleasant duty for us, and will give us the opportunity of bringing into light some events almost forgotten by the present generation. And we shall find in its accomplishment the record of an undertaking as pure in its origin as it is benevolent in its ends.

Those who are familiar with the history of the reign of Louis Philippe, and who followed the progression of the important Socialistic movement which commenced about the year 1835, increased rapidly, attained its *apogée* in 1847, passed through the bloody days of June, 1848, and finally ended in the *coup-d'état* of the 2nd of December, 1851, must have noticed that among those who were engaged in that movement, at the head of the invincible legion, stood a group of men most of whom belonged to the working class, and who had the good luck to be the chosen victims of the Aristocracy's wrath. These men had selected for their adviser and leader a righteous man, raised from the people, whose brilliant talent and abilities could have led into the highest spheres of the governmental ring. That man had adopted with enthusiasm the cause of the oppressed people. In 1834, as a representative of the Department of *Cote d'Or* he had, by his attitude, thoroughly hostile to the aristocratic policy of the government, been sentenced to two years' imprisonment and deprived of his political rights for four years. Being advised by his numerous friends to shun the hatred of his enemies, he willingly exiled himself. These five years of exile, spent in England, exercised a great influence over him. Taken on a sudden from political life, rid of his daily preoccupations caused by the war in which he was engaged against the political institutions and politicians of his time, he sought in study a subject for his intellect.

In 1839 he returned to France. But what a change! what a transformation! The politician of 1834, the bold orator who was pointing out with sarcasm or indignation all the faults, all the blunders and rascalities of the

ministers of the king, had enlarged the horizon of his genius. He had become a Socialist.

Before his exile he was asking for liberty, for a more extensive education and electoral right for the people. The republican form of government had his sympathy over the monarchy; but *there* was the limit of his claims, his ideal was going no further.

The social problem was entirely indifferent to him. He had read the manifesto of the "Equals" without interest. The book of Buonarrotti hardly caused him to exclaim: "*Would there be any thing to do besides proclaiming a Republic?*"

Such was STEPHEN CABET, when in 1834 he had been convicted for supporting the Poles and fighting the tricky and aristocratic policy of Louis Philippe's government.

Exile is a hard trial: some will get discouraged by it, others will get strengthened.

We could quote the names of many illustrious men among politicians and Socialists who have been diminished by exile; but we could name others for whom exile was the Calvary; who had returned transfigured and strengthened in their belief.

Cabet was among the latter.

Thoroughly devoted to the welfare of mankind, he had spent these five years of exile in seeking the means of releasing his fellow-men from the physical and moral tortures to which they were subjected.

By studying and thinking over the history of all ages and of every country, he had come to the conclusion that political reforms alone are powerless to give men the rest and happiness which they are constantly looking for; that slavery of old time, servitude of the Middle Ages and modern pauperism, were after all the same thing under different names; that in every period of history, we will find the same phenomenon: society, divided into two classes. On one side a cruel, lazy and haughty minority, exclusively benefiting by the productions of a passive, hard-working and ignorant majority, who are deprived of every thing. A great wealth in opposition to excessive poverty; such was the sight which every page of history retraced before his eyes.

To find the way of changing such a state of affairs, and prevent one part of Humanity from being the prey of the other; such was the aim of all his exertions. But how to obtain such a result?

For the first time in his life Cabet found that all the struggles he had sustained, all the reforms he had asked for, all the means he had recommended were useless. He found out at last, that pauperism with all its consequences could only be abolished by suppressing riches; that one was fatally bringing forth the other.

Finally, that if there was any hope left, any way of putting an end to all these evils, it could only be obtained by establishing Equality.

But, he acknowledged it himself, no one thought Equality practicable. The deepest thinkers called it an impossibility.

The few enthusiasts who had tried, with Babœuf, to establish it in France, in 1796, had been ridiculed by everybody.

However, this principle was impressing itself by degrees on Cabet's mind. He was not long in understanding and acknowledging that equality of wealth was the only agent that could change the face of the world, and open for Humanity the true ways to their destiny.

The transformation had taken place.

Cabet had become a Communist.

Toward that time he wrote his "*Voyage en Icarie*."

This book, in which Community of wealth is exposed in a simple, accurate and attractive style, made a deep impression upon the public mind. Its author was not altogether a stranger. He had already acquired some notoriety among the Radical Republicans.

The principle of Community was not altogether a new comer. It had been transmitted to us through secret societies, and the history of Babœuf's conspiracy, written by his friend Buonarrotti, had kept it in the mind of the people, especially among the revolutionists. The insurrection of May, 1839, had given this principle a new start. Many persons were looking upon the bold attempt of Barbès, Blanqui and their friends as a renewal of Babœuf's conspiracy. When Cabet published, in 1840 his *Voyage en Icarie*, Communism, which until then had been a vague and confused theory, mingled with Babœuvism, assumed at once its identity. Like the Saint-Simonians and Fourierists, the Communists could claim to have their plan of organization, their programme, and above all a criterion of certitude; and Cabet soon numbered among his followers all the most advanced men among the Republicans.

The Icarian school was then founded.

The chief characteristics of this school are: that

during all its existence it has been almost exclusively composed of workmen. The few wealthy people who at first seconded Cabet in his enterprise, soon abandoned him, and without ceasing to be Communists they kept themselves outside of his school, and criticised it; this did not stop its growth.

The progress accomplished by Communism was wonderful. In a few years it spread itself all over the country, and you would find but a few towns of importance in France, where some of Cabet's followers could not be found.

The *Populaire*, a newspaper established by the Icarians in 1841, published monthly at first, twice a month a short time after, and finally once a week, contributed to a great extent to propagate these principles.

This paper commented on, explained, and especially defended the doctrines exposed in the *Voyage en Icarie*. Cabet was its chief editor. Watrion brothers, Vauzy and the Pole Krolikowsky wrote for it. It was supported by the Icarians, who, being mostly workmen, did not earn always enough to provide themselves with the necessities of life, and had to deprive themselves of the least enjoyments to raise the money for the publication of the *Populaire*.

(To be continued).

THE VIRGINIA ENTERPRISE.

Beaver Falls, Pa., May 1, 1877.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—I did not intend so long time to elapse, when I wrote you from "Hill-side Home" last summer, ere I should report again.

A number of my friends and I, after spending several of the most profitable and happy months of our lives in that delightful locality, took up our line of march from there, in July, hoping when we left, that the turn of events would be so ordered by the Divine Providence as to prompt our return thither, which might in due time ultimate in the establishment of a Coöperative or Communistic Home, for which we have so long "labored and waited." This, however, was not to be realized there.

We are now looking with longing eyes to a place on the shores of the Potomac, twenty miles below Washington city—notice of which have appeared in your columns. This is historic ground. On it stands the antiquated mansion owned in the long ago by Judge Mason, where Washington and Jefferson, Lafayette and Franklin met, in those eventful days, to exchange greetings and hold counsel together. It is a magnificent domain, commanding grand and picturesque views up and down the Potomac for many miles—taking in at a glance sunny slopes, graceful fields, bountiful orchards, shady groves, rolling hills, and the beautiful river winding in the distance, with vessels gliding upon its glassy bosom.

These are some of the esthetic features, which are by no means to be overlooked or underrated in the selection of a location, as all beautiful things have a refining and harmonizing influence upon the spirit.

The men who are immediately concerned in projecting this movement are among the few faithful and true-hearted of the earth, whose aspirations can never be satisfied short of the attempt to realize something better than the present competitive system, which has made of God's bountiful and beautiful earth far more of a Pandemonium than a Paradise.

The owner of this estate (of five hundred acres) is Col. Edward Daniels, a man of high integrity of character, of large practical experience and executive ability, whose mind has been turned in the direction of Social Reform for many years, and who has cherished the hope that the day would come when it would be in his power to aid in the upbuilding of a New Order of things, "wherein should dwell righteousness." He was a graduate of Oberlin College; is a civil engineer by profession, and was at one time State geologist of Wisconsin. During the turbulent scenes of the Kansas troubles, he took an active part on the side of Freedom, and also in the late Rebellion, and soon after became editor of the *Richmond State Journal*.

Hon. Thomas J. Durant, the President of the Potomac Coöperative Association, has also been a student of Social Science for many years—a man of acute perceptions, a philosophic cast of mind, and a lawyer of pre-eminent ability. Had it not been for his convictions in favor of a national currency, he would doubtless have received the nomination for Chief Justice of the United States.

In a late letter, Col. Daniels writes me thus:

"If we are not successful at once in this enterprise, I for one shall not be discouraged. I propose to devote my life to this work. Whoever may give up and be-

come weary, I trust I shall hold out to the end. For twenty years it has been my dream and aspiration. Now that it has taken a definite shape, my faith is strengthened and my vision clarified. * * * If I had no family, I would willingly give my farm outright to this Association. But in the transition, I can not put the property beyond recall, until we see what comes. * * * I put it in as stock and give the use of it, however, at much below its cost to me—with its buildings, fisheries, orchards, gardens, dairy and poultry-yard. * * * Let our friends all feel that this is not the work of a day, but of a life-time, and let them confer together, growing in the spirit of unity and love where they are, and thus become prepared for the assembling together, which will surely come."

As a preparatory step, a boarding-place in the old mansion, at very moderate prices, will probably be opened about the 1st. of June, for the accommodation of those who wish to visit the place and become acquainted with one another and with the projectors, previous to their identifying themselves with the Association. Others, who desire to avail themselves of this opportunity, have indicated their purpose of spending some time in this interesting region, as their summer resort.

Letters of inquiry may be addressed to Col. Edward Daniels, Washington City, D. C., or to the writer of this, Beaver Falls, Pa. Fraternally,

MIL0 A. TOWNSEND.

Washington, D. C., May 14, 1877.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—Our work in organizing and starting the pioneer Coöperative Colony goes on slowly, but without delay. We are unable to say when we can call our people on the ground. We shall not do it until we can see our way clear to employ and support the force required, *i. e.*, until they can produce their own living. We can not afford to risk failure by a premature start. We realize also the necessity of thorough sifting of applicants. The great number of letters received by us from all quarters indicate a wide-spread interest in Socialistic reform. A large number of them, however, show that the writers have no adequate idea of what is needed, and that they are not in a state of development likely to become useful to a society which subordinates self to the general welfare, or rather seeks the individual well-being by providing ample employment for all. We are learning precious lessons which will profit us, I trust, in due time.

I believe we more and more see the prime importance of the cultivation of an unselfish spirit. We also see how much more important are good men and women than formulated doctrines. We are keeping up our quiet meetings twice a week, and urging our correspondents all over the country to do the same. We shall send out another circular in a few days.

The SOCIALIST is a gold mine to the student of Social Science. You did well to shut off Brisbane's diffusive and arid communications. They were very barren at this stage of experiment; we have science enough in all directions; "how to apply it," that is what we want to know. Brisbane's essays remind one of the staff-officer who, in the midst of a great battle, employed his time in reading a ponderous work on Military Science; yet he does good in his way. Let him write books for libraries but keep out of newspapers. The column devoted to Community life in the old *Circular* was more luminous and of more practical value, to point the true way of living, than all the books of Fourier. I am full of hope and faith. I esteem it all important that we should do something practical here at the National Capital. Whatever else is lacking, it is not an honest purpose nor a determined will. Fraternally yours,

EDWARD DANIELS.

MORE ABOUT THE LIBERAL CLUB.

New York, May 4, 1877.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—Your intimation that the readers of your journal could bear a stronger light on the subject of what was deemed a dissolution of the N. Y. Liberal Club, induces me, who have been a member almost from the formation of the Club, to offer a few words. However correct your previous correspondents may have been in particulars, the general truth of the question can not be communicated in any such flip-pant manner.

The Club was organized some seven or eight years ago, by an effort at union among the various shades of Liberalism; represented by well-known persons from one section of the Positivist school, by others from the ranks of Spiritualism, Free Religion, Free Thinkers, and the skeptical world generally. The progressive

Hebrew was here represented as well as the ultra liberal Christian.

While friendly toleration prevailed, it answered well the purposes of a Lyceum, and many very able papers have been read there, on almost every subject of science, art, literature, etc., including ethics, politics and economics. Not as much can be said for the discussions which generally followed the reading of such papers. In these, each section generally mounted its hobby, and rode it, gloriously oblivious of its relation to the subject presented, and of the points made by other parties, unless there was opportunity for personal or sectional hits. On the whole, however, the Club has done good service in "the agitation of thought," and would have continued useful, but for the development of personal antipathies. These were mixed to a certain extent with sectional, perhaps I should say, sectarian strife. Veil it as we may, the genuine bigot is as often found among unbelievers as believers, and the disciple of the development theory, or of the no-soul or no-God hypothesis, is often as impatient of contradiction, and intolerant of "invasive thought," as any Catholic or Calvinist.

Allowing much for the desire for orderly methods of investigation, which doubtless actuates the section of Positivists, to which I have referred, there is still manifest a tendency to methodical despotism, not only incompatible with the desultory debates that often enlivened, if they did not enlighten, the audiences; but which would seek, by intellectual "bull-dozing," to discourage all reflection not consisting of induction from positive knowledge.

As the names of Prof. Wilcox and Mr. T. B. Wakeman have been mentioned, I trust I shall be guilty of no discourtesy in alluding to them. The former, though chivalric, is somewhat of a martinet in parliamentary discipline, and proved quite a "thorn in the side" of the rather easy-going, fun-loving, but still pugnacious, Ormsby. He also disgusted Mr. Wakeman, the leading mind of the dissenting Positivist school, and who cares nothing for parliamentary law, but only for the "three stages" and the "relativity of all knowledge," and knows *no rights* but only *duties*. The explosion proceeded from these conditions; the caucus which nominated Mr. Sterne, and the question of moving or not moving to a new hall only being the occasion of rupture. To blame one party or the other seems to me unreasonable. It is a pity they could not have gone on together; but as they could not, let them do the next best thing, pursue their separate course without rancor.

With the exception of the Positivists to whom I have referred, there is no real partisan significance in the disruption. The extreme free-thinkers are about equally divided between the new and the old Club. Liberal Religionists and Spiritualists go with each division, and but that their meetings are held on the same evenings, large numbers would attend both meetings; which, indeed, are well and respectably attended. The friends of free thought need not be alarmed, nor its enemies be elated with the idea that Liberalism will die because the Club has become divided. J. K. INGALLS.

A NEW EMOTIONAL EXCITEMENT.

THE Murphy Movement is the name of the current temperance excitement in Ohio, and it is rather a robust form of the campaign against spirituous liquors. Its leader, who gives name to it, was an old and depraved sot of a rather unique variety, and is now an earnest and impressive speaker. The converts and participants all wear blue ribbons, conspicuously displayed, as a badge of their work. The interest is spreading and deepening, and even theaters are being captured and turned into fortresses of total abstinence. It will perhaps occur to the reader that these reform movements seem to have an emotional center, which, in this country, "goes West," slowly following the focus of population. New England was the nest of reform twenty or thirty years ago; the Unitarian movement and Emersonianism originated there; also the anti-slavery "cause" and Brook Farm Socialism. Then suddenly, and apparently without reason, this center changed to Western New York, where Mormonism had its birth, anti-Masonry sprang up and threw the whole land into convulsions, Oneida Communism took root, and Spiritualism went forth from Hydeville and Rochester to take possession of millions of mankind. Then the center moved across the Ohio line and settled on the Western Reserve, where the Woman's Crusade and the local option law were invented and transplanted to other soil. Now the "Murphy movement" is making thousands of converts there, and moving the emotions of all classes of people. These movements can not be said to be epidemic in any such sense as we use the word, but they are phenomenal and psychological—worthy of investigation by Social philosophers. Another phase worthy of remark is that, whereas the former excitements were uniformly religious in their

character, the latter are almost exclusively humanitarian—if not actually calculated to benefit the race, at least ostensibly prosecuted for that purpose. This perhaps marks a change temporarily at least towards secularism, toward the achievement of material comfort and happiness rather than the attainment of spiritual blessings.—*Graphic*.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, MAY 24, 1877.

THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF of this paper has the pleasure of announcing that he has resigned the Presidency of the Oneida Community, and will be free henceforth to devote himself wholly to editorial labor. There has been some incompatibility between the duties of the two offices, not only on account of the double labor imposed, but because the AMERICAN SOCIALIST aspires to be the organ of Socialism in all its degrees, while the O. C. is the exponent of only one form of Communism.

J. H. NOYES parts with the Community to which he has given thirty years of his life, in entire harmony, leaving his son, DR. THEODORE RICHARDS NOYES, to be henceforth its responsible head.

The SOCIALIST will now be free to go its own way, and may ere long find a location more favorable to its circulation and influence.

OUR readers will find in the short historical sketches which we publish from time to time much useful information. To understand and properly value the later developments of various Socialistic schools, we must know something of their origin. We must also be informed as to the character of the founders, and the circumstances which led them to break out of the old ruts of social life and undertake to organize larger homes. By reading the sketch of Ann Lee and her character which we have lately published, one gets a better knowledge of the principles on which the Shaker organization is founded. So the reading of MR. OSBORNE WARD's sketch of the origin of Socialism in Germany will help one to understand the movement which has now acquired such tremendous headway in that country. This week we commence a short sketch of Icaria, giving an account of CABET's enthusiasms, hopes and disappointments, together with a glimpse of the present condition of the Icarian Society. This account was sent to us by the new President of Icaria, MR. A. SAUVA. It will probably be completed in three chapters. Those who are interested in the Coöperative Colony organizing on the Potomac should read COL. DANIEL'S letter on another page. We shall do all that our circumstances will permit to keep our readers well informed on all the live Socialisms of our time; and to that end we cordially invite all existing or projected organizations to send us accounts of their progress as often as they can afford to do so.

USE THE RIGHT WORD.

THE words Socialism and Communism are sometimes used by writers for the AMERICAN SOCIALIST indiscriminately, as though they covered the same ground, but incorrectly. They are not synonyms. Socialism, as we have previously shown, is a more generic term than Communism, and may properly be made to include Communism, Coöperation, and all forms of mutual help which involve organization and contemplate, in the words of Webster, "a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed." Communism is a form of society based on common property; and while a man can not be a Communist without being a Socialist, he may be a Socialist without being a Communist. So a man who holds that the Coöperative principle is sufficient for the remodeling of society is a Socialist, though he may have no faith in Communism or any theory of close association. Let us keep these distinctions in mind, and use specific terms for specific ideas, and general terms for general ideas. Sociology, Socialism and Socialistic are all general terms; Coöperation and Coöperative, Communism and Communistic, Joint-stockism, and other terms descriptive of particular forms of theoretical and practical Socialism, are specific. When we speak, for instance, of American Socialism let it be clearly understood that by it is meant the general movement in this country tending toward "a more orderly and harmonious arrangement" of society; and when we speak of American Communism let it be clearly understood that it does not mean Coöperation, Fourierism, nor any other feature of So-

cialism not based on the principle of common ownership. Specific distinctions will become more and more important as the general cause of Socialism advances: for there will be developed, and in fact already exist to some extent, different varieties of Communism, Coöperation, etc., so that to be exact we shall have to distinguish between these subdivisions and say, Shaker Communism, Oneida Communism, and so on. This can not always be done; but we can follow the safe rule given above, namely, use general terms for general ideas and specific terms for specific ideas.

PHASES OF COMMUNISM.

How much Communism is there in the world? More than would appear at first glance. Every family until, at least, the children begin to have separate interests, is a little Community. Every civilized nation, in taking care of the poor with means acquired by the taxation of the rich, enforces Communism to that extent by law. Every insurance company is based upon the Communistic principle of many bearing the burden of the unfortunate few. Every public school is a Communistic institution, giving to masses the blessing of education. Roads, streets, railways, canals, rivers and the ocean, are highways of Communism.

Banks, joint-stock companies and business partnerships are forms of combining interests for mutual benefit. Public baths, libraries, hospitals, parks and gardens, as well as numerous other city arrangements, such as their gas and water service, are outgrowths of the spirit of Communism. Postal and telegraph systems, as well as the army and navy, are Communistic in their basis.

The fundamental principles of Communism underlie all society and government, and the advance of civilization is marked and measured by the growth of Communistic customs and institutions.

If our eyes were truly open we would have to confess that we live in a world of Communism, and in an age of Communism, and that selfishness, however conspicuous, is circumscribed with permanent and narrowing limitations.

COMMUNISM FROM ABOVE.

WE showed in the last No. of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST that Communism is coming upon the world from two directions—from the toiling, suffering millions on the one hand, and from the educated, religious classes on the other; and that the two movements will modify each other. From our present standpoint, this modification appears to us absolutely essential to the peaceful progress of the great social revolution which is impending, and our reading of the past only confirms us in this view.

It is not easy to recall a political or religious revolution of modern times, of world-wide interest, that did not involve in its origin and progress the middle and upper classes as well as the lower. This was the case with the great reformation of Luther, with the revolutions which laid the foundation of English liberty, and with our own revolution of 1776. In all these events the middle and upper classes led the lower classes and contributed those higher elements which gave them their success. In social revolutions this combination of classes is preëminently necessary, because the temptation is so great to make them struggles between the classes themselves. Of the disastrous results of such struggles we have had abundant illustrations. Victory to one class means oppression to the others. The social reformation of the future can not be accomplished by any seesawing between the different classes of society, but rather by their harmonious coöperation, in which we expect those representing the highest elements of civilization will take the lead.

This is in strict accordance with past history. The Socialisms which have accomplished most for the world have come from above rather than from below. Plato stood at the head of Greek civilization, when he wrote his "Republic." Christ's Socialism was based on that highest element of civilization, religion. The example of the early Christians has contributed more than all other causes to Socialistic discussion and experiment during the centuries following them. The revival of Luther was the occasion of immediate though unsuccessful attempts at Communism; and probably if the facts were known it would be seen that every great revival has tended toward a repetition of the events which followed the Pentecostal awakening. Certain it is that the Communities which have flourished for any considerable time in the United States, of American, English, German and Swedish origin, have been the direct results of revivals. This shows that a single one of the

higher elements of civilization, namely religion, when allowed to lead, is sufficient to insure peaceful success; but in the near future religion will ally herself with education, science, and all the higher elements of civilization; and then the upper movement will be in itself resistless; and uniting with the lower movement will be able to bear all humanity onward.

ECONOMIES OF COMMUNISM.

III.

THE implements of toil used in farming and gardening, and many of the tools used in the various trades, oftener rust out than wear out in ordinary society. In Communism the maximum of use with the minimum of rust is attained. However, its economy does not stop here. There is a saving in the number of tools, implements, and other mechanical contrivances, necessary. If forty farmers, for instance, should unite together in close Communism, they would not need nearly so many hoes and spades, ploughs and harrows, mowers and hay-tedders, as they would if carrying on their farms separately. Besides, their united capitals would enable them to afford more labor-saving machinery, and so economize strength and time. Not only this, but a Community can have a home carpenter's and machine-shop, as well as a smithy of its own, to which the departments can resort in case of repairs, and so not only save journeys to the neighboring towns, but be assured of prompt and faithful service.

But if these forty farmers living in Communism economize greatly in farm implements, barn room, stock-raising, buying fodder in large quantities, etc., etc., their wives and families will find the economical advantages of their communal house-keeping still greater. The economies of fuel and lights in having a common kitchen and laundry, as well as a common home to warm and light, is apparent at the first glance. So of time and money in purchasing groceries and dry goods at wholesale. But the greatest, the most blessed economy of all, is

ECONOMY OF WORRY AND CARE,

of wear and tear to body and soul. The manifold economies in money and material things which Communism secures, are not to be compared to those secured to the mind and heart. As the last SOCIALIST says, MR. Waring of the *Atlantic Monthly* gives a gloomy enough picture of the home life and social (dis)advantages of the farmer. The coöperation which he proposes as a lift out of their difficulties is good so far as it goes. But Communism will secure all this and much more, especially to the wives and families of the farmers. It is of these last I would say a word under the above heading.

Communism would bring them a wonderful relief from the monotonous drudgery of house-keeping. The weekly washing—the "blue Mondays"—the cleaning twice a year, and above all the three times three hundred and sixty-five meals a year to be planned, cooked, and the dishes washed afterwards, all this responsibility and labor would be shared among them all. The monotony and care is put by in this way. No one person is responsible for it all. If you have charge of planning and cooking the meals for awhile, then you don't have any care about the washing, or making beds, or cleaning house, or any of the work except in the kitchen. That done, your time is your own, to read or sew, or ramble. No, you don't even have the table to clear nor the dishes to wash. Some one else is responsible for them.

After you have worked in the kitchen for a time, and you weary of the routine of cooking, you can take your turn in some other department of the house-work, and have the welcome relief of not knowing what you are to dine upon, till you sit down at the table. Here is your saving of worry and care—rotation of work and division of responsibility. If you are making beds or sweeping the parlor, you are utterly careless as to the pies in the oven, the clothes on the line, or the children who must be rung in and tidied-up for school. If you are responsible for the beds or bedding, you don't have to look after the table-cloths. If your care is of the furniture some one else sees to the carpets. Amidst all and brightening all, is the society you have plenty of without dressing up to go a-visiting. In Communism the solitariness, the innumerable petty cares and conflicting responsibilities of the ordinary house-keeper, are done away forever.

The farmer himself can have this same advantage of division of responsibility and rotation of work—which rotation is as good for him as it is for his land and crops. We know of a good-sized Community farm, whose head-manager is changed every few years. Be-

sides this, the out-door work is divided, and different ones are responsible for the stock-raising, largest crops, kitchen-garden, vineyard, and so on.

Here is something about

CLOTHING IN COMMUNISM.

Mr. A. had a great bother with his clean shirt the other morning. He had thrust his arms into the sleeves and drawn it over his head, but it was so small that he could neither pull it on farther nor get it off without tearing. Looking at the mark, he found it was another man's shirt, mislaid in the distributing-room. "This is too much Communism!" he said. Too little he might have said; but without any joke, it is convenient to have your own close-fitting garments and nobody's else, and will be as long as the size of the neck, the length of the arm, the breadth of the shoulders and the girth of the waist, are not the same with any two forms. It is very convenient too to have a hat respected as your own when you hang it on a peg to go to dinner. At the same time there are articles proper for a Community wardrobe, such as India-rubber overcoats and boots, water-proofs, heavy shawls and things of that kind, which persons may want two or three times a year, but which are lumber in their closet the rest of the time.

In ordinary families children's clothes, which are often outgrown before they are much worn, are passed down when there is a chance. Of course there is a better chance in a Community than elsewhere; that is, the gradation of sizes and half sizes is more perfect, so that there is no need of laying by in drawers or cutting over half-worn clothes.

We attended a little sewing-bee the other day in a Community for changing the names on the children's summer stockings. Some one asked if it would not be a better way to make sure of enough stockings—a great plenty of all sizes, and then not be at the trouble to mark them. "Oh no!" exclaimed several who have lived with the children and had the care of dressing them. "It would be such a fuss to find fits. The stockings would come from the wash all sizes together, and think of hunting the basket over and trying on three or four pairs perhaps to find the right size. It is a great deal better to have them marked and distributed to each child's drawer."

In the matter of clothing the economy of Communism is less direct than in many other things, but it comes in this way: A Community is able to defy *fashion*. It can adopt a costume of its own as the Shakers do, and as the Oneida women do at home. There is no telling the saving of money and time which is the result of this freedom. Probably the clothing expenses of the Shakers and of the Oneida Community women would show a balance in favor of Communism greater even than expenses for subsistence, just on this account.

It is notorious that umbrellas have a sneaking tendency toward Communism every-where. They are treated at O. C. in this way. Those who prefer have their own umbrella to keep as they can, but the greater part choose to "borrow," having less occasion than common folks to go out of doors in the rain. The accommodating "neighbor" is a kind of cabinet standing in the hall stocked with the article. Over the cabinet is a peg-board, and you are expected to stick a peg by your name when you take an umbrella, which is to stand against you till you return the same—making you feel a kind of responsibility that common borrowers do not. Trunks and traveling bags may be held in common. Appoint an individual whose duty it shall be to have them on hand for every occasion, and you are sure of the convenience without the incumbrance, while a comparatively few will answer for a great family so home-loving as Communists generally are.

COMPETITIVE TRADE.

The spirit of competition in existing society is not more manifest in any thing than in commerce. Commerce or trade as now conducted makes little pretense to equity. Indeed, its aim is the reverse of equity. He who in an exchange of property seeks to give as much as he expects to get, who in buying would give a full and exact equivalent for his purchase, or in selling would take no more than that for what he sells, is considered among traders to be too honest to thrive, and on the sure road to failure and ruin. To say nothing of speculation in its grosser forms, with its "corners," its "bulling" and "bearing," etc., etc., men trade for profit, which is simply getting something more than they give so as to enhance their wealth, not by production or improvement, but by simple exchange. He who makes equitable exchanges is no trader; in common parlance he can not "make" any thing, and the object of

trade as at present carried on is to "make something." There is, in fact, no recognized principle of equity in trade; nothing by which men could be guided if they wished to be squarely honest and fair in their dealing. True, the words "honest," "fair," "just," etc., have a place in the vocabulary of trade, but they have no well understood meaning which constitutes a standard of fair dealing acknowledged by all, and hence their application is exceedingly varied and uncertain. The highest ideal in commerce seems to be that one should do about right; it does not seem to be expected that one will do just right, but pretty near right, yet there is no standard by which it can be determined when this is attained. When we listen to men endeavoring to strike a bargain in trade, we are likely to hear one say to another something like this, "You must not be too hard with me, you must not take too much advantage." It is rather expected that one will be somewhat hard, especially when he has the chance to control the market; he is then a lucky fellow, and is expected to take advantage of it, but if he is not too hard and does not take too much advantage, he is considered to be about right; his character for fair and honorable dealing is not to be impeached. So the current language of trade carries with it an implication that equity is not aimed at, or expected. Cunning, sharpness and concealment, if they do not amount to actual fraud, are commercial virtues. The common law maxim *caveat emptor* shows how fully the spirit of spoliation in trade has permeated society. Commerce is carried on much like a game of chance, in which the "sharper" wins at last; as to the victim, "good enough for him," he should have looked out for himself and have kept his eyes open. As a consequence of this want of an equitable measure of value by which to regulate exchanges, we find a vast amount of corruption and falsehood in all the channels of trade, want of adaptation between supply and demand, unequal and unjust distribution of wealth, degradation of labor, caste, etc., etc.

But is there any such measure of exchangeable value? Let us see; and it is necessary to recur to some simple, first principles.

Mankind have various wants. Upon the supply of some of them life depends; the supply of others gratifies taste or ministers to comfort. To procure a supply for our wants, labor in one form or another is requisite. If every one produced by his own labor all that were necessary to supply his wants there need be no trade. But this can not well be so; division of labor becomes necessary to attain the best results, and hence arises the necessity of an exchange of products. This gives rise to commerce. But why is any product rightfully the subject of price? Simply because it has cost something to produce it; because there is labor in it. Adam Smith thus laid down this self-evident principle in his "Wealth of Nations": "Every man is rich or poor according to the degree in which he can afford to enjoy the necessities, the conveniences and the amusements of human life. But after the division of labor has once thoroughly taken place, it is but a very small part of these that his own labor can supply him. The far greater part of them he must derive from the labor of other people, and he must be rich or poor according to the quantity of that labor, which he can command, or which he can afford to purchase. The value of any commodity, therefore, to the person who possesses it, and who means not to use it or consume it himself, but to exchange it for other commodities, is equal to the quantity of labor which it enables him to purchase or command. Labor, therefore, is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities."

"The real price of every thing, what every thing really costs to the man who wants to acquire it, is the toil and trouble of acquiring it. What every thing is really worth to the man who has acquired it, and who wants to dispose of it or exchange it for something else, is the toil and trouble which it can save to himself, and which it can impose upon other people. * * * Labor, alone, therefore, never varying in its own value, is alone the ultimate and real standard by which the value of all commodities can at all times and places be estimated and compared. It is their real price; money is their nominal price only."

But Adam Smith did not undertake to carry out this principle and apply it in a true system of honest and equitable commerce. Indeed, having stated it he immediately abandoned it as too difficult for practice, and proceeded to treat of values "adjusted," as he says, "not by any accurate measure, but by the higgling and bargaining of the market, according to that sort of rough equality, which, though not exact, is sufficient for carrying on the business of common life." And

surely, that sort of equality has proved to be "rough" indeed!

J. W. T.

A COMMUNITY SERMON
ON 1ST CORINTHIANS, 13.

CHARITY is essential and fundamental to Communism—that is, it is the element of character which is essential to social harmony. It is therefore the foundation of all education among us; that in which our children must be trained with line upon line and precept upon precept. They must be taught to regard charity as what they need for happiness in this life and in the life to come.

Charity is a *gift*—the great gift of God. It is the gift which all must covet and follow after. Other gifts are for particular persons, the gift of healing for one and the gift of prophecy for another, but charity is for all. It is essential to salvation. The other gifts are not all essential. We need not be concerned for the other gifts if we have that one. It is the very jewel—the diamond, among all the other gifts preëminent, for which the other gifts are only the proper setting. Without charity we are nothing. All the other gifts come from God, and he will not waste them on people who do not accept the main gift. But if we accept the main gift of charity, which is really the heart of Jesus Christ, we shall have other gifts. They go with that and belong to it. Jesus Christ had the other gifts in abundance. The word which came from heaven when the Holy Ghost descended upon him was, "This is my Beloved Son in whom I am well pleased." His fundamental character was one that suited God—one that was good to propagate. It was a good pattern after which to make a whole world. With the character he had Communism was possible and the hope of realizing heaven on earth. He had the unselfish spirit which "seeketh not its own."

It was because he had a spirit that would make heaven on earth anywhere and every-where that God gave him the other gifts. The other gifts were the means of propagating that gift. It certainly was the great plan of God to make charity rule in the world—to give everlasting power and predominance to the unselfish spirit, for that is what makes the Kingdom of Heaven. All the means of grace which God has employed in the world from the beginning to the end, have been for the purpose of propagating that spirit. Wherever that spirit is there is Christ, and there God sees his Beloved Son in whom he is well pleased.

The great difference between the English race now and what it was three or four hundred years ago in old Feudal times, when war was the principal occupation of mankind, is that it has made considerable progress toward charity. The difference between Christendom and heathendom is the advance Christendom has made in learning that charity which "suffereth long and is kind, which envieth not, is not easily provoked, seeketh not her own," and so on—that spirit or element of character which is alone capable of Communism.

TEMPERANCE.

OLD MEASURES AND NEW.

THE temperance movement is under a strong impulse at present in this country, and is apparently making good headway. The champions of the cause are using all the means at their command—new measures and old. Mr. Moody and the revivalists lead the movement, and rely on moral and religious influences chiefly for liberating the captives. They regard the pledge as of secondary importance, and lay out their strength in effecting a radical change of character—in taking away the morbid and depraved appetite and substituting new desires and aspirations. It is encouraging to see reformers taking this advanced position, working from within outward. It augurs well for the future, promising healthy and lasting progress. Another wing of the army, of which Maine is the rallying center, is marching under legal banners—invoking the strong arm of the law to arrest the flood of intemperance. Maine has been conspicuous in the Union for its zeal in the use of legal weapons in the fight with King Alcohol, during the last twenty years. She is now enacting more stringent laws prohibiting the sale of liquors, and gathering fresh courage for a more vigorous and uncompromising campaign against intemperance than ever before.

We are ever ready to cheer on every honest effort for uprooting evil and making this world a happier place for men, women and children to live in; and yet we can not ignore the fact that vice and bad habits have their strength in disorganized Social conditions, and therefore we claim that Socialists are the really radical temperance reformers. Enlarged homes that relieve

men of poverty and excessive labor, and at the same time provide healthy food and stimulus for the whole man, for his moral, spiritual, intellectual and physical nature, are the true conservatories of reform. If you take away the solace that men derive from their tobacco and whisky, you must provide some good substitute—something to fill the aching void, otherwise all reforms must lack the principle of permanence and security. Tobacco and whisky offer a kind of anæsthesia for the pains and ills of isolated life, and hence their almost universal use. If we can make happy homes, and remove the cause of the manifold miseries that are entailed on poor human nature, it will be easy to dispense with the chloroform of whisky and tobacco, and overcome the whole catalogue of bad habits that send so many to premature graves. This is the task that Communism has set for itself, and asks for the encouragement of all sincere reformers. It has already made and reported some very successful experiments in eradicating bad habits, and formed a nucleus of reform in this country that challenges the attention of all who are working for human regeneration. Communism lays the axe at the root of *all* bad habits, and claims this as one of its great economies in reformatory work; giving it an immense advantage over all partial and fragmentary schemes that single out some one vice for reprobation, and make a specialty of combating that. While we seek to prosecute reforms in the partial way, and single out some one vice in the way indicated above, it will be impossible to enlist the united strength of the masses, and make a combined attack. One man, will get his eye on an evil and magnify that till it seems to embrace all others, and verily think if it could be successfully overthrown that the millennial day would dawn in glory. Another will see some other dragon in the way and strive with might and main to put that to the death, thinking in his zeal that nothing else hinders the good time from coming right along. To illustrate, mention may be made of a remark lately made by a patron of the O. C. Turkish Bath. He was a gentleman of intelligence who had had experience of the enslaving power of habit, and had asserted his freedom in some respects at least. While he deplored the vice of whisky-drinking, he said it was his settled conviction that tobacco was a worse enemy to the country and the world than whisky. He argued that tobacco is more universally used, and a more insidious, beguiling evil than whisky. This man then, if he were to enter the field of reform would enlist as an anti-tobacco Knight-errant.

Our conclusion, then, is that Communism is the center of all reforms, and will ultimately gather all the divided forces into one grand, conquering army.

H. W.

STORIES ABOUT P. P. STEWART.

THE only place we ever saw Mr. P. P. Stewart appear to advantage in public was on "Fair grounds," under the following novel circumstances:

Previous to the late war I was once at the Connecticut State Fair in New Haven. The day was as fine as any one could desire, and the Fair grounds were crowded with joyous, happy visitors. Noticing a large collection of people at one particular spot, curiosity drew me thither, and I found the object of attraction was a "Stewart Cooking Stove!" The inventor himself was there entertaining his auditory respecting the peculiar merits of his invention. But on this occasion the Stewart Stove was not, like other stoves, merely on exhibition, polished, prim, in their Sunday best, and idle; but was fired up and doing duty, right in the open air, with only a piece of stove pipe on its head to carry off the smoke. A novelty, truly.

On the opening of the exhibition Mr. S. had distributed a few handbills which announced that at a certain hour he would bake bread in his stove, and those wishing to witness the performance could have the opportunity. The baking was to be accomplished with but three sticks of wood, fifteen inches long and three inches in diameter. It was a cardinal principle with Mr. S. never to exaggerate, but lean the other way, promising less than he could perform. It proved so in this instance. With that small quantity of fuel he baked two large loaves of wheat bread in forty minutes, boiled a kettle of water, heated flat-irons; and after having done this there was fire enough left to broil a steak. The bread, when taken from the oven by Mrs. Stewart—for she was his assistant—was a marvel to all; such a lovely brown, so evenly and thoroughly baked, and exquisitely sweet and light, as I and many others witnessed by taste and smell.

The Stewart stove was then, whatever it is now, a mar-

vel! Perfect in all its parts, it was what it claimed to be, *air-tight*. This domestic machine seemed to be instinct with intelligence, under the manipulations of Mr. S., performing wonders in the line of cooking and heating with very little fuel. It might be added, that Mr. S. himself was hardly less a wonder than his stove, to those who had never met him before. He was slow of speech, but full of scientific facts and practical information about stoves, heat, draft, fuel, economies, etc., etc., which he imparted to his listeners so naturally, and with such plain simplicity that people felt that it was worth half the price of his stove.

It was here that we found Mr. Stewart in his true element. He was doing good, giving information that would benefit others. The Stewart stoves went off like hot cakes on a frosty morning. They seemed to sell themselves. All he did was to demonstrate, by actual experiments, the capability of his invention when rightly managed, and people found real pleasure in using a stove constructed upon scientific principles. Mr. and Mrs. S. visited other State Fairs with similar success. To them it was "home missionary" work among the masses.

As showing the difficulties which a really honest man has to encounter in competitive trade I will refer to Mr. Stewart's

MOST UNLUCKY CONTRACT.

P. P. S.—"Mr. B. I am under the painful necessity of informing you that I am unable to fulfill my part of the contract made with your firm on a former visit, and the reason is this: I can not procure my own stove patterns from the shops of W. F. & Co., without resorting to what might prove almost endless litigation, for which I possess neither the heart nor the means to carry it on."

Mr. B.—"Mr. Stewart, the contract need not be given up at all. We have just as good stoves as yours, and the patterns of them; only the public don't think so. Now the most we care for in this contract is *your name*."

P. P. S.—(*Soliloquizing*) "Good heavens! What is this world coming to? Have I jumped from the frying-pan into the fire? Am I asked to endorse a veritable lie, and have that lie cast in letters of iron and handed down to remotest ages? What! P. P. S. knowingly, deliberately, willfully, owning a bastard stove, with which he never had the slightest connection or agency in its conception, and then deliberately sending it into the world as his own legitimate child!"

Mr. Stewart's amazement, for he was too much confounded to speak, must have been a more severe rebuke of what he regarded as an insult to his moral nature than any amount of anathemas upon the man's demoralized condition. Mr. B. quickly discovered that he had addressed the wrong man that time. Indeed, he might as well have asked this stern reformer to barter his soul for a mess of pottage to the evil one, as to be guilty of such a trick in trade as that. All the gold in America, coined or uncoined, would not have been the slightest temptation, if offered him, to give his sanction to the least deviation from what he believed to be heaven-born rectitude. The bewildered man returned to Troy, and in little more than a year died insolvent. This last fact surprised his friends. But the mystery was solved when the grasping firm in the city of N— demanded of Mrs. S. twenty-five thousand dollars for the non-fulfillment of the contract.

But why did Mr. S. wish to remove his stove business from the city of Troy? Ah, indeed, why? Many a tale, and thrilling ones to o, could be told by the "old man eloquent" in *noble deeds*, of wrongs done him, and abuses suffered, could his disembodied spirit find a truthful medium through whom to tell his story. Unfortunately for Mr. Stewart as an individual, his position in the industrial world made him a sort of battle-ground for contending parties. At the zenith of his stove prosperity the war broke out between capital and labor. As a manufacturer he represented the capitalist on the one hand, and as a practical mechanic he represented the laborer on the other. His sympathies were to some extent with both, while he deplored the hard, uncharitable spirit each manifested toward the other. His prophetic eye was probably too dim to see that progressive civilization was giving birth to a grand revolutionary principle when the vast multitude of mechanics and workmen made the discovery that *organized Socialism* signified *union*, and that union was *strength*: and this mighty army of laborers were not slow in demonstrating the fact to the world in the numerous trades-unions and industrial fraternities that so suddenly sprung into being. But like a political party unexpectedly coming into power after a protracted

fast, many of their legislative enactments were crude, childish and oppressive to their opponents. In his business Mr. S. suffered at the hands of some of them. Hence his attempt to flee the city with his stove-patterns on his back. But the load proved too heavy for him, and as we have seen he sunk under it.

Immediately subsequent to the death of Mr. S., the old Troy firm came forward (having the stove-patterns in their possession) and paid the \$25,000 demanded, and again resumed the manufacture of the P. P. S. stove. This amount however was charged over to the estate of Mr. S. to be re-imbursed to the firm in royalties due the widow on all stoves sold. G. C.

THE BRADLAUGH-BESANT CASE.

From the *Daily Graphic*.

THE trial of Charles Bradlaugh and Mrs. Anne Besant, for publishing an improper book, is exciting a great deal of interest in England. Some of its features are curious and worthy of attention. The book in question was written by an American—one Dr. Knowlton—some forty years since. In its day it had a very large circulation, passing through many editions. It has since been constantly sold in England, and is of the same character as Robert Dale Owen's "Moral Physiology." It claims to be a Malthusian work, and suggests means by which population may be kept in check. The plates finally fell into the hands of a partner of Bradlaugh named Watts, who kept on selling the work, but was arrested, and fearing imprisonment under Lord Campbell's act, plead guilty in order to avoid punishment. This excited the ire of Bradlaugh and his associate in the Secularist movement, Mrs. Besant, and Watts was dismissed from the *National Reformer*, of which he was editor, and Bradlaugh himself undertook to publish a new edition of the "Fruits of Philosophy," as it is called, to test the right in England of issuing a book of this character to be circulated among the poor. He notified the magistrates of his intention to issue the work, and he and his partner sold the first one hundred copies personally and invited arrest. They were accommodated, and taken before what would correspond to a Police Court in this country, but there he was not permitted to offer evidence showing that the work was not really obscene. Whereupon Bradlaugh, who is a keen, clear-headed lawyer, went before the Court of Queen's Bench, presided over by Lord Chief Justice Cockburn and Mr. Justice Miller, and moved for a *certiorari*, so that the merits of the book could be investigated by a special jury of educated men, and the case have the advantage of the ruling of a high court on what Bradlaugh and his friends deemed a very important matter. The case is to be so tried, and this is considered a partial victory for Bradlaugh. In the meanwhile the agitation is spreading all through England, many women, among others, contributing to the fund which is being raised to assist Bradlaugh in his defense. The ground is openly taken by noted women physicians, members of school-boards, and others, that the poor in England should be instructed in the means known to medical science to prevent the multiplicity of children. As might be supposed, the discussion is not a savory one, but it is kept up in all ranks of society. At a meeting of the London Dialectical Society, which includes among its members eminent English men and women, Dr. Drysdale read a paper apropos of this subject, advocating this practical application of the Malthusian doctrines. The subject was there discussed with a freedom which would be considered astounding in this country, the women taking part in the discussion pro and con; and finally, at the suggestion of two of the ladies, the subject was postponed for further discussion on another evening. The theme is one which would seem proper enough for a medical association of men, or of women if no men were present; but the debating of such a subject in mixed assemblage is strangely at variance with the habits of American men and women.

Dr. Knowlton's book, the "Fruits of Philosophy," though it was first sold in this country, is not now accessible, as under the law passed at the instance of the Society for the Suppression of Vice no publisher would dare issue it for fear of exciting the enmity of Mr. Anthony Comstock. The present law, by the way, was very strongly opposed by Mr. Garfield and Mr. Hoar, the present Senator from Massachusetts. Should Bradlaugh succeed in securing the right to publish such a work in England, we will probably have a repetition of the discussion on this side of the water. Happily the necessity for limiting families is not so obvious in this country as it is in England. Nor is there any man of the ability and energy of Charles Bradlaugh to fight a case of this kind before the American courts.

RAPID PRINTING.—When some sixty years ago Koenig constructed the first cylinder press and enabled the London *Times* to announce to the world the first grand step in rapid printing, the transition from two hundred an hour on the old hand presses to a thousand an hour by steam was heralded forth as the greatest achievement of that time. Thirty years later, Hoe constructed the "Planetarium," with its many cylinders, and hundreds of our readers can readily re-

call the furore it created in the printing community when this press was perfected so as to produce from five to ten thousand sheets printed on one side per hour. The demand for still faster presses for the increasing editions of the great daily papers, brought out in rapid succession the Bullock, Walter, and others with capacity for turning off six to eight thousand perfected sheets per hour, and yet the *Tribunes*, *Heralds*, *Suns*, etc., need presses still more convenient and rapid. It has remained, then, for the Centennial year to supply this want—Andrew Campbell has invented what must be conceded the fastest rotary printing and folding machine in the world. This press is capable of printing TWENTY THOUSAND eight-page or FORTY THOUSAND four-page papers per hour, delivering them either flat or folded at the will of the operator; this is at the rate of six hundred and sixty a minute, or ELEVEN PAPERS EVERY SECOND. It would appear as if this was the limit of fast printing on cylinders, and that hereafter if any thing faster is produced it must be by some method as yet unknown.—*Exchange*.

MR. GLADSTONE ON SPIRITUALISM.

THE May number of a journal entitled *The Liverpool* (30, Moorfields, Liverpool) contains the following letter to the editor from the Right. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M. P. :—

"Holmbury, Dorking, April 8th, 1877.

"SIR:—I fear I can render but little service, yet should be glad to aid in removing, if it might be, risks which you name, and each of which is in its own way so great.

"I know of no rule which forbids a Christian to examine into the professed signs of preternatural agency in the system called 'Spiritualism.' But it seems to me his duty—

"1. To refrain from 'dabbling' in a question of this kind: that is to say—making a shallow and insufficient examination of it.

"2. To beware of the rash assumption, that, if the signs are real, the system has therefore of necessity any claim to more than an acknowledgment of this reality.

"3. To remember that, on the principles of the Christian religion, a bad preternatural agency, or a misleading one, is not shut out from the range of possibility.

"4. To avoid, in so solemn a matter, the spirit of mere curiosity, and to be assured of having in view an useful object.

"Universal knowledge, however, is not possible, and we are bound to choose the best and healthiest. I may add that an inquiry of this kind seems to me much more suited for a mind in a condition of equilibrium than for one which is disturbed.

"If the reviews and facts of the day have in any way shaken the standing-ground of a Christian, is it not his first and most obvious duty to make an humble but searching scrutiny of the foundations?

"I speak as one who is deeply convinced that they will bear it, and that God has yet many a fair plant to rear in this portion of His garden. With all good wishes, I remain, Sir, your faithful servant, W. E. GLADSTONE."

THE SPIRITS INDORSE CO-OPERATION.

At a recent Spiritualistic *seance* the following question and answer were recorded:

From the *Banner of Light*.

Q.—[From the audience.] Is the Rochdale plan of co-operation the best for conducting business?

A.—Coöperation always gives strength, no matter where we find it, whether it is in a matter of business, in a matter of religion, or in a matter of society. Wherever there is co-operation there is strength, *if the coöperation is not aggressive*. When, as many times is the case, there is coöperation, or an extensive plan to carry out selfishness, and for the larger to swallow up the smaller, then it becomes a dangerous instrument in the hands of society. This country is suffering from such combinations to-day. If you look quietly about, you find there are many societies existing—I might call them societies, or companies or corporations—that have banded together to have their own way, to let no one else have power. These become dangerous. But when a set of men and women will unite together and coöperate with each other to do good, to live pure and true lives, to work for the good of humanity, then they will have strength.

THE witness before the court was Mr. Wood. "What is your name?" asked the clerk. "Ottiwel Wood," answered the witness. "How do you spell your name?" then asked the somewhat puzzled Judge. Mr. Wood replied, "O double T, I double U, E double L, double U, double OD." The astonished Judge thought it the most extraordinary name he had ever met with, and after two or three attempts to record it, gave it up amid roars of laughter.

PAIRING VOTES.

FOREIGNERS are often startled at the equal privileges of our government, by which the ignorant classes are allowed the same right of voting as the most intelligent. It looks to them a hazardous experiment, and one which must end in ultimate disaster. One of the most curious illustrations of

the equal power of two votes is given in a humorous story of Judge Story, which he was very fond of telling.

One cold and stormy election day, he felt it his duty, as a good citizen, to go to the polls. He ordered his carriage for this purpose. But just when he was getting in, a sudden thought struck him. Turning to his colored driver, he said,

"Have you voted yet?"

"No, Massa Story, I was waiting to drive you first."

"Well," replied the Judge, "and who do you intend to vote for?"

"I shall vote for A.," answered the driver.

"Well," continued the Judge, laughing, "I should vote for B.; so you may put up the carriage again, and we will both stay at home, and pair off our votes."

The colored driver was of equal importance at the ballot-box with the learned judge.

ITEMS OF NEWS.

HOME.

The Pension Bureau has 90,000 unadjusted cases.

Oleo-margarine isn't butter any how—chemically, morally or legally.

On Friday, the 18th, the thermometer in New York stood at 90° Fah. in the shade.

President Hayes was entertained in New York by the Chamber of Commerce.

The Russian fleet has stolen away from New York. It did not say where it was going.

Governor Chamberlain has opened a law-office in New York. He supports Hayes.

Secretary Thompson has a way of dropping in at the navy yards just when no one is expecting him.

They are going to have the telephone attached to diving-bells so that we can talk to the man under water.

New York isn't ready yet awhile to learn any thing from Massachusetts about the management of railroads.

Don't look into the six Eastern States if you want to find New England. That is the home of the Kanuck and Irish.

Shall we keep the use of the switch in public schools?—that is the question which comes up every now and then. It is up now.

Captain Eads thinks he can deepen the Mississippi all the way from Cairo to the Gulf by applying his jetty system to the shallows.

Aunt Betsey says she won't eat any more Barbarous dates; they are full of sand and bigotry and it helps the Turks for her to use them.

The outstanding fractional currency amounts to \$21,596,128. It is believed that a large part of this will never be presented for redemption.

The New York Carnival was not a complete success. It was too good for the irreverent mob, and it was too commercial for the men of sentiment.

Senator Gerard has introduced a bill into the New York Legislature to prevent the "defacement of natural scenery" by the advertisements of soap and candles.

Secretary Sherman is figuring away to see if he can not resume specie payment in 1878. It is quite likely that he will need some further action on the part of Congress.

General Grant sailed for Europe on the 17th inst. The editors say good things of him now that he is gone, same as we do of persons who have gone to the summer-land.

Divide Utah between Colorado and Nevada and let the Gentiles grind up the Saints in some slow legal way—that is the advice which comes from California on the Mormon question.

The people of New York have set up a statue of Fitz-Greene Halleck in the Central-Park. It is the first one erected in honor of an American poet. President Hayes unveiled it.

Joshua Billings' forthcoming book will have 50,000 copies in its first edition. Oh, Shaw! And this is a man who sometimes says to a lecture committee, "I can fill your hall once, but not twice."

Columbia College has just graduated a class of 264 law students. The great corporations are feeling their lawyers roundly; this is no doubt giving a great impulse to the study of the law. The newspapers note the fact and groan.

California is suffering greatly from the drouth and collapse in the mining stocks. We ought to remember her at prayer time. With a climate like that of the Holy Land, and with a landscape vastly more imposing, she ought some time to produce us a new Bible, and not be content with her sweet and spicy wines.

It was a great idea that the officers of the army would have to go "out at the knees and elbows." The paymaster will indorse the officers' vouchers by saying, "This is all right and I would pay it if I had the money;" then the indorsed vouchers will be passed along to Drexel, Morgan & Co., and the cash will be forthcoming.

School Superintendent Pickard, of Chicago, says that children manifest less deference to older person now than they did forty years ago. Well, how can we expect our children to be respectful as long as they are born of parents who never cared much about superiors? If veneration is going to be differentiated out of our heads by democracy, we may as well give up and engage apartments on the other side.

It has been discovered that there is an inborn decency and sense of utility in the female mind which can be turned to great account in educating the young males of the human kind. It is proposed by some to give up the dormitory system of the colleges and have the young men dispersed to live in private families. The English made an end of their annual Oxford riots by tying every student to a lady friend on commencement day.

The most liberal philosophy and conduct of life is now saying to religion, "This four-horse team is going right through to the Kingdom and a good time coming, and you can get in here with all your Christianity. Shall be glad to have you; but you mustn't try to fill the whole wagon. Fact is, Art and Science and the scientific breeder of men have engaged the back seats and have got to go. Are you

all in gentlemen? You mustn't take any dirks and pistols with you. Glang there! Crack! Yeho!"

FOREIGN.

Greece wants to fight somebody.

The Scotch have sowed their oats.

The Irish have planted their potatoes.

The green flag won't be a banner of profit to the Sultan.

When it gets to be a holy war then look out for atrocities.

The Germans can out-scissor the English in Sheffield itself.

Austria wants to have Russia keep her fight inside of the rope and stakes.

The American officers in the Khedive's army say they can't fight against Russia.

There are 8,000 Jews in Jerusalem, constituting about one-third of the population.

London now has 3,489,428 inhabitants; there are 222,986 less males than females.

Roumania says she has got out of doubt as to her being in a state of war with Turkey.

And now the French pancake begins to smoke: it will have to be flapped over like a not.

The earthquake at Iquique, Peru, destroyed 10,000 tons of nitrate of soda, besides other items.

The British squadron has made its appearance off Port Said, the entrance of the Suez Canal.

Austria and Germany have told the Porte, "Don't take any of our Poles to put into your Polish Legion."

The Archbishop of Canterbury thinks a man can be a Christian although he is not a member of the established church.

There is an American writing from the city of Mexico who would have us believe that Diaz is a sort of Mexican President Hayes.

Prince Hassan, the son of the Khedive, will go to Constantinople with 6,000 troops. The rest of the Egyptian contingent will follow soon.

The Catholics are every-where busy in Europe, though perhaps not very conspicuous. The late *coup d'état* in France is due to these intrigues.

Gladstone's resolution not to give aid nor comfort to Turkey was defeated by a vote of 354 to 233. It had the effect nevertheless of uniting the liberal elements in England and abating the war feeling.

The Russians are not used to being shot at with breech-loaders. They don't know what to do about it. The probability is that they will have to give up their heavy column of attack and adopt our thin skirmish line of battle.

Two of the three great-great-grand daughters of DeFoe are now living in Lambeth, London: they are aged sewing-women. All three of the sisters are on the verge of penury, and with the exception of their brother and his family they are the only descendants of the immortal story-teller.

Preparations for draining the Zuyder Zee are now going on. After the enormous dam is built at the narrow part and the engines placed, it will take sixteen years to pump the Zee dry. The expense will be \$67,000,000. The land recovered will amount to 500,000 acres. The Dutch are still at work taking Holland.

Bradlaugh, who is still determined to know whether Englishmen are going to be allowed to print and vend matter on the control of population, has gone before Lord Chief Justice Cockburn of the Court of Queen's Bench and moved for a *certiorari*, so that the merits of his book can be examined by a special jury of educated men.

Louisa Chandler Moulton thinks the English are just about the most self-satisfied people in the world. Compared with New York and Paris, London is crammed full of inconvenient household arrangements and clumsy furniture, which an Englishman will tell you can not be improved for him. They just fit his idiosyncrasy and wrinkle.

President MacMahon, who is an old imperialist General, got tired of the Republicans for repealing the press law, and said so to Jules Simon, the Premier. M. Simon declared his sympathy for the "left," and then resigned. This led to the resignation of the whole Cabinet and to the appointment of a new one with the Duke de Broglie, an old monarchist, as its head. The Assembly declared by a vote of 355 to 154 that it wouldn't have any confidence in a cabinet that was not free, and resolved to govern according to Republican principles. This puts MacMahon and his party in the minority, unless they and the army can be said to be a majority. The President has prorogued the assembly for one month. The situation is exciting to Frenchmen and Germans.

The Russian army in Europe has been active all the week, but it has made no very positive move beyond extending and strengthening its right wing, which has now reached as far west as Kalafat. Their army is nowhere very near the Danube, but lies back in line parallel with the river. The left wing is quietly holding the positions around Galatz, and the slight advance into the Dobrukscha. The Russians are evidently about ready to attempt the crossing of the Danube, meanwhile they are bringing up their reserves to the front and organizing more troops in the rear. By and by they will have a mass of men on the right and topple over into Bulgaria at a number of points. They will move to the flank and rear of the quadrilateral and bring the Turks into the open field. The latter seem to be waiting and watching to take the battle when it comes.

The Russians are busy in Asia Minor, but they don't seem to get on very fast. They are still held at Kars, although a part of that column has gone on towards Erzeroum. At Batoum they are finding business enough. Whether they have been more or less defeated it is not safe to say. The column advancing by the way of Ardaban is said to have taken that place. The Bayazid column is sufficiently advanced to threaten the right wing of Mukhtar Pasha in the region of Bardess. We also hear of another column marching toward Diarbekir by the way of Lake Van. The Turks on the other hand have been able to make some counter-strokes. They have stirred up the Circassians to rebellion, and have made a very successful naval attack on Sakum Kaleh, a Russian town. The Circassian outbreak has interrupted communication between Tiflis and Porti and caused the Muscovites to look to their base of operations.

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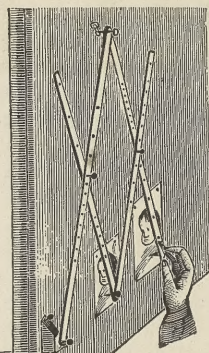
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